

## Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 STATE 019760  
ORIGIN SS-25

INFO OCT-02 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 R

DRAFTED BY AF/W:PRCHAVEAS:HMN  
APPROVED BY AF:RMMOOSE  
AF/S:DKEOGH  
AF/S:KPGARLAND  
AF/W:TWMSMITH  
EB/IFD/OIA:WBLACK  
IO/UNP:SESCUDERO  
S/S-O ;TGMARTIN

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R 250321Z JAN 78  
FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
TO AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON  
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK  
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA  
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM  
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO  
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA  
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
AMEMBASSY MOGADISCIO

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 019760

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: NI, PGOV

SUBJECT: ASSISTANT SECRETARY MOOSE'S CONVERSATION WITH  
NIGERIAN AMBASSADOR JOLAOSO, JANUARY 20: SOUTHERN AFRICA  
AND THE HORN

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1. SUMMARY: AT OUR REQUEST NIGERIAN AMBASSADOR JOLAOSO  
CALLED ON ASSISTANT SECRETARY MOOSE IN THE DEPARTMENT ON  
JANUARY 20 PRIOR TO LEAVING FOR NIGERIAN CHIEFS OF MISSION  
MEETING NOW SCHEDULED TO BEGIN IN NEW YORK ON JANUARY 23.  
MOOSE REVIEWED WITH JOLAOSO THE CURRENT STATUS OF THE  
UK/US INITIATIVE IN RHODESIA; THE CONTACT GROUP'S EFFORTS  
TO ARRANGE PROXIMITY TALKS BETWEEN SWAPO AND THE SAG;

US VIEWS ON RECENT DEVELOPMENT IN THE HORN; AND OUR GROWING CONCERN OVER THE LACK OF PROGRESS IN DEALING WITH THE DISPUTE BETWEEN THE FMG AND THE AMERICAN INTERNATIONAL GROUP (AIG) AND THE STEPS THAT MUST BE TAKEN UNDER US LAW IF THE COMPANY SEEKS AND IS SUCCESSFUL IN OBTAINING A FINDING OF EXPROPRIATION. ALSO PRESENT WERE NIGERIAN MINISTER-COUNSELOR EMENYI, AF/W DIRECTOR SMITH AND COUNTRY OFFICER CHAVEAS. FOLLOWING COVERS ABOVE POINTS EXCEPT AIG WHICH IS TRANSMITTED SEPTEL. END SUMMARY.

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EXTENSIVE TALKS WITH DAVID OWEN CONCERNING THE UK/US PLAN FOR RHODESIA. MUGABE AND NKOMO WILL PROBABLY AGREE TO MEET WITH OWEN AND AMBASSADOR YOUNG IN MALTA IN LATE JANUARY. THEY HAD AGREED TO MEET ON JANUARY 26 BUT OWEN HAS REQUESTED THAT THE MEETING BE DELAYED UNTIL THE 30TH BECAUSE OF A PARLIAMENTARY DEBATE SCHEDULED FOR JANUARY 26 FOR WHICH HE MUST BE PRESENT. OWEN'S POSITION REGARDING THE MALTA MEETING IS VERY POSITIVE. IT IS VERY IMPORTANT AT THIS MEETING TO GET THE PATRIOTIC FRONT INTO A DETAILED DISCUSSION OF TRANSITION ARRANGEMENTS. WE FULLY UNDERSTAND THE DESIRE OF THE PF TO PLAY A MAJOR ROLE IN THE TRANSITION BUT DO NOT BELIEVE THAT THIS IS WORKABLE.  
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3. MOOSE EMPHASIZED OUR VIEW THAT THE "INTERNAL SETTLEMENT" TALKS OFFER NO BASIS FOR A WORKABLE SOLUTION. ANY AGREEMENT WHICH DOES NOT RECEIVE INTERNATIONAL RECOGNITION AND PERMIT THE PARTICIPATION OF ALL INTERESTED PARTIES CAN ONLY CONTRIBUTE TO CONTINUED AND INTENSIFIED CONFLICT. WE WILL TALK TO MUZOREWA AND SITHOLE BEFORE THE MALTA MEETING TO NOTE OUR OBJECTIONS TO AN "INTERNAL SETTLEMENT" BUT TO MAKE IT CLEAR THAT WE DO NOT INTEND TO TURN THEM OUT OF OUR PLANS. WE ARE CONCERNED THAT IF WE DO NOT PROVIDE THESE ASSURANCES, THEY MAY FEEL PRESSURED INTO CONCEDING MORE TO SMITH THAN THEY MIGHT OTHERWISE DO. AS THE "INTERNAL SETTLEMENT" TALKS PROGRESS IT WILL BECOME INCREASINGLY CLEAR TO MUZOREWA AND SITHOLE THAT SMITH IS NOT PREPARED TO EFFECTIVELY YIELD POWER. THEN, IF WE CAN REACH AGREEMENT WITH THE PF, WE CAN GO TO SMITH AND THE SAG AND PRESENT THEM WITH ARRANGEMENTS THAT THEY WILL HAVE NO CHOICE BUT TO ACCEPT. WE UNDERSTAND NIGERIA'S DESIRE TO HAVE THE SECURITY COUNCIL DISCUSS RHODESIA WHILE NIGERIA IS PRESIDENT DURING JANUARY, BUT WE ARE CONCERNED THAT SUCH A MEETING WOULD INTERFERE WITH THE PROPOSED DISCUSSIONS IN MALTA. MOOSE

ASKED JOLAOSO TO ADVISE GARBA OF OUR REQUEST THAT THE SECURITY COUNCIL NOT CONSIDER RHODESIA AT THIS TIME. HE RE-EMPHASIZED DAVID OWEN'S COMMITMENT TO PLAYING A VERY POSITIVE ROLE IN THIS ROUND OF DISCUSSIONS.

4. NAMIBIA - MOOSE SAID WE ARE FEARFUL THAT IF WE DO NOT MOVE QUICKLY TO DEAL WITH THE NAMIBIAN SITUATION THE SAG WILL IMPOSE AN "INTERNAL SETTLEMENT". HE REVIEWED THE CURRENT STATE OF OUR EFFORTS TO ARRANGE PROXIMITY TALKS WITH SWAPO AND THE SAG AND SAID THAT WE ARE HOPEFUL THAT THEY WILL TAKE PLACE IN EARLY FEBRUARY. WE UNDERSTAND THAT THE FMG HAS BEEN PRESSING SWAPO TO COOPERATE WITH THE CONTACT GROUP AND WE VERY MUCH APPRECIATE THESE EFFORTS. HE NOTED THAT THE BRITISH REMAIN FIRMLY AGAINST CONFIDENTIAL

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5. SOUTH AFRICAN NUCLEAR DEVELOPMENT - MOOSE SAID THAT WE UNDERSTAND THAT THE FMG, AS SECURITY COUNCIL PRESIDENT, IS PLANNING TO CALL A SECURITY COUNCIL MEETING TO DISCUSS SOUTH AFRICAN NUCLEAR DEVELOPMENT AND TO SEEK AN EMBARGO ON ALL NUCLEAR COOPERATION WITH THE SAG. PRESIDENT CARTER IS VERY FIRMLY COMMITTED TO AVOIDING THE PROLIFERATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS. IT IS OUR DESIRE TO GET THE SAG TO ADHERE TO THE NPT AND THEREBY PLACE ALL OF ITS NUCLEAR FACILITIES UNDER INTERNATIONAL INSPECTION. WE ARE WATCHING SOUTH AFRICA VERY CLOSELY IN THIS REGARD. WE HAVE NOT MADE A FINAL DECISION ON WHAT ACTION TO TAKE BUT WE DO NOT INTEND TO LET THE ISSUE DRAG ON. WE FULLY UNDERSTAND THE VIEW OF THE FMG AND MANY OTHER AFRICAN GOVERNMENTS THAT IF WE COOPERATE WITH THE SAG IN DEVELOPING ITS PEACEFUL NUCLEAR CAPABILITY, WE WILL BE UNABLE TO PREVENT THEM FROM USING THAT TECHNOLOGY FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS. WE DO BELIEVE THAT WE CAN MONITOR THESE DEVELOPMENTS. JOLAOSO ASKED IF WE ARE FULLY SATISFIED THAT THE SAG HAS NOT ALREADY GONE BEYOND PEACEFUL NUCLEAR ACTIVITIES AND BEGUN TO DEVELOP NUCLEAR WEAPONS. MOOSE REPLIED THAT WE ARE CONCERNED ABOUT SAG ACTIVITIES AT THE KALAHARI SITE AND MUST BE SATISFIED AS TO THE NATURE OF THESE ACTIVITIES. WE DO NOT HAVE ADEQUATE ASSURANCES AT THIS TIME. THE SAG HAS ALMOST COMPLETELY ISOLATED ITSELF IN THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY AND THERE IS GREAT DANGER THAT IT MAY DECIDE TO GO IT ALONE IN NUCLEAR DEVELOPMENT. IT HAS THE POTENTIAL OF BECOMING A DESPERATE OUTLAW STATE. THIS IS A VERY COMPLEX ISSUE. WE ARE ATTEMPTING TO BALANCE OUR CONCERNS FOR THE FULL HUMAN RIGHTS OF THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA VERSUS OUR CONCERN ABOUT THE GRAVE DANGERS OF THE PROLIFERATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS. WE MAY END UP WITH OPPOSITE CONFIDENTIAL

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POINTS OF VIEW ON THIS ISSUE, BUT WE WANT THE FMG TO UNDERSTAND THE SERIOUS CONSIDERATION WE HAVE GIVEN TO IT.

6. THE HORN - NOTING THAT THEY HAD PREVIOUSLY DISCUSSED DEVELOPMENTS IN THE HORN ON DECEMBER 14, MOOSE DREW JOLAOSO'S ATTENTION TO THE FACT THAT THERE HAD BEEN A GREAT DEAL OF US PRESS COVERAGE OF SOVIET AND CUBAN ACTIVITIES. THERE IS A SIGNIFICANT BODY OF OPINION IN THE US WHICH IS CONCERNED WITH DEVELOPMENTS IN THE HORN STRICTLY BECAUSE OF THE SOVIET/CUBAN PRESENCE. THE USG DOES NOT VIEW THE ISSUE IN THAT WAY. THIS IS AN AFRICAN PROBLEM WHICH REQUIRES AN AFRICAN SOLUTION. THE USG IS CONCERNED THAT THE CONTINUING SOVIET/CUBAN BUILD-UP WILL MAKE OAU EFFORTS INCREASINGLY DIFFICULT. INCREASED FIGHTING COULD TURN THIS INTO AN INTER-REGIONAL CONFLICT AND IN THE EYES OF US PUBLIC OPINION IT COULD

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7. JOLAOSO ASKED ABOUT THE CURRENT STATE OF OUR CONTACTS WITH ETHIOPIA. MOOSE RESPONDED THAT WE CONTINUE TO COMMUNICATE WITH THE ETHIOPIANS BOTH THROUGH THEIR AMBASSADOR IN WASHINGTON AND OUR CHARGE IN ADDIS. WE HAVE TOLD THEM OF OUR DESIRE TO CONTINUE DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS AND TO CONTINUE OUR PRESENT LEVEL OF ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE ACTIVITY, WHICH IS CURRENTLY BEING HAMPERED BY THEIR OWN ACTIONS. WE HAVE EXPRESSED CONCERN ABOUT CONTINUING

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VIOLENCE AND THE VIOLATION OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS OF ETHIOPIAN CITIZENS. WE HAVE ACKNOWLEDGED THEIR RIGHT TO DEFEND THEIR TERRITORY. WE ARE INCREASINGLY CONCERNED ABOUT THE ETHIOPIAN/KENYA SITUATION. THE CONTINUING BUILD-UP OF SOVIET AND CUBAN MILITARY PERSONNEL CAN ONLY LEAD TO INCREASED VIOLENCE AND FURTHER COMPLICATE THE SITUATION. THE EGYPTIANS, SOMALIANS AND SUDANESE HAVE

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INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /016 R

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

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AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM

AMEMBASSY NAIROBI

AMEMBASSY DJIBOUTI

AMEMBASSY CAIRO

AMEMBASSY JIDDA

AMEMBASSY TEHRAN

AMEMBASSY SANA

USINT HAVANA

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 019760

EXDIS

FOL STATE 019760 SENT ACTION LAGOS INFO LONDON USUN LUSAKA  
DAR ES SALAAM MAPUTO PRETORIA ADDIS ABABA MOGADISCIO JAN 25,  
1978 REPEATED TO YOU QUOTE

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UNQUOTE VANCE

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## Message Attributes

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**Original Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** EXDIS  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
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**Review Release Event:** n/a  
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**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
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**To:** LAGOS  
**Type:** TE  
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EO Systematic Review  
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